

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00
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DODE-00 ACDA-12 CU-04 HA-05 BIB-01 /086 W
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O P 221300Z DEC 77
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4266
INFO USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 9103

FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE, OCON
SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE - CBM ISSUES FOR DECISION DURING RECESS

REFS: A) BELGRADE 8960; B) USNATO 12778; C) BELGRADE 8878;
D) BELGRADE 8823; E) USNATO 10187; F) USNATO 09797;
G) STATE 299022; H) STATE 188069

1. IN MEETINGS DECEMBER 20 AND 21, NATO CBMS CAUCUS DIS-
CUSSED ISSUES REQUIRING ATTENTION IN ALLIED CAPITALS
BEFORE RESUMPTION OF BELGRADE MEETING IN MID-JANUARY.
THESE ARE ALSO THE ISSUES IT WOULD SEEM TO US SHOULD FORM
THE AGENDA FOR CBMS DISCUSSIONS IN BRUSSELS JANUARY 12
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AND 13. (WE HAVE LEARNED FROM CANADIAN DEL THAT JANU-
ARY 13 POLADS MEETING ON CSCE, REINFORCED BY EXPERTS
FROM CAPITALS, IS TO BE PROCEEDED BY SESSION
JANUARY 12 SOLELY ON CBMS. WE UNDERSTAND CBMS EXPERTS
FROM SEVERAL ALLIED DELS HERE -- INCLUDING UK, FRG
AND CANADA -- WILL BE GOING TO BRUSSELS FOR THESE CONSUL-
TATIONS AND RECOMMEND THAT US DELOFFS DEALING WITH CBMS

BE PRESENT ALSO.)

2. AGENDA OF CBM ISSUES.

A. NEGOTIATING SYNTHESIS OF CBM PROPOSALS (REF A).
SEVERAL DELS, PARTICULARLY UK AND FRG, PUSHED HARD TO
GET THIS DOCUMENT INTO WARSAW PACT AND NEUTRAL/
NON-ALIGNED (NNA) HANDS BEFORE CHRISTMAS. ALL ARE
AGREED THAT IT MUST BE READY FOR USE HERE IMMEDIATELY
AFTER THE RECESS. PRINCIPAL ISSUES, DISCUSSED IN GREATER
DETAIL IN PARA 6 REF A, ARE:

-- FORMULATION OF ITEMS ON MANEUVER-CEILING AND EX-
TENSION OF CBMS TO SOUTHER MEDITERRANEAN;

-- PREPARATION OF FALLBACK POSITION(S) ON MANEUVER
CEILING; AND

-- ESTABLISHMENT OF PRIORITIES AMONG ELEMENTS OF
ALLIED PROPOSAL (BM/11) CONTAINED IN SYNTHESIS.

TO PERMIT AGREEMENT OF FIRST TWO OF THESE ITEMS IN
BRUSSELS DISCUSSIONS, CAUCUS FELT IT WOULD BE ESSENTIAL
TO HAVE CONCLUSIONS OF MILITARY COMMITTEE (PARA 4 REF B)
BEFORE JANUARY 12-13 MEETINGS.

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I. FRENCH REP, RETURNING TO CAUCUS DISCUSSIONS
AFTER WEEK'S WITHDRAWAL (PARA 3 REF C), REPORTED THAT
PARIS WAS STUDYING SYNTHESIS AND WOULD BE IN POSITION TO
COMMENT AFTER CHRISTMAS RECESS. ON PERSONAL BASIS, HE
QUESTIONED MILITARY ADVISABILITY OF ACCEPTING DISCLOS-
URE OF "ITINERARY" AS PART OF INFORMATION TO BE INCLUDED
IN NOTIFICATIONS OF MAJOR MOVEMENTS; HE ALSO SUGGESTED
THAT, AS OPENING BARGAINING POSITION, ANY FORMULATION
OF MANEUVER CEILING PROPOSAL SHOULD DEFINE AREA OF
APPLICATION MORE BROADLY THAN AREA DEFINED FOR
PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MILITARY MANEUVERS.

II. FRG REP REPORTED TWO MINOR COMMENTS FROM BONN
ON SYNTHESIS PAPER: PROVISION OF ITINERARY AND MEANS OF
TRANSPORTATION IN MOVEMENTS NOTIFICATIONS SHOULD BE
QUALIFIED WITH PHRASE "IF POSSIBLE"; AND TO BE CONSIST-
ENT WITH ALLIED AGREEMENT REACHED IN BRUSSELS, FINAL ITEM
IN CONTENT OF NOTIFICATION FOR MOVEMENTS SHOULD SPECIFY
"BRIGADE/REGIMENTAL LEVEL OR ABOVE" RATHER THAN "AND
ABOVE".

?. NNA PROPOSAL ON AGGREGATED SMALLER-SCALE MANEUVERS

(OR "FRACTIONATED" MAJOR MANEUVERS). GIVEN CONTINUED NNA ATTACHMENT TO THIS PROPOSAL AND NEW INDICATION (REPORTED SEPTTEL) OF POSSIBLE SOVIET INTEREST IN THE IDEA, CAUCUS AGREED ALLIES SHOULD CONTINUE TO ANALYSE WHETHER ALTERNATIVE FORMULATION ALONG LINES EARLIER SUGGESTED BY IMS AND REPORTED PARA 5B REF D WOULD BE FEASIBLE; TO

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FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

UNDERPIN THIS ANALYSIS, NEW IMS STUDY REPORTED REF E SHOULD BE COMPLETED IN TIME FOR CAPITALS TO DIGEST IT BEFORE JANUARY 12 MEETING. IMS AND NATIONAL ANALYSES SHOULD INCLUDE ESTIMATE OF REPORTING CONSEQUENCES NOT ONLY FOR NATO BUT FOR WARSAW PACT. AS REPORTED SEPTTEL, YUGOSLAVS AND PRESUMABLY OTHER NNAS BELIEVE EFFECT OF MEASURE WOULD BE TO SUBJECT TO PRIOR NOTIFICATION A SIGNIFICANT AMOUNT OF WARSAW PACT MANEUVER ACTIVITY WHICH NOW GOES FREE. HOWEVER, UK/NORWEGIAN DISCUSSION WITH SOVIETS (REPORTED SEPTTEL) SUGGEST SOVIETS MAY SEE MEASURE AS INVOLVING LITTLE IF ANY ADDITIONAL REPORTING BURDEN FOR THEM. ALLIED REPS

SHOULD BE ARMED WITH FACTUAL ANALYSIS OF THIS
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POINT WHEN THEY RETURN TO BELGRADE IN JANUARY.

C. MOVEMENTS ACROSS BORDERS. IN PREPARING ALLIED
MOVEMENTS NOTIFICATION PROPOSAL BEFORE BELGRADE, FRG
INSISTED UPON EXCLUDING ELEMENT OF ORIGINAL USDRAFT
WHICH WOULD HAVE EXEMPTED FROM 200 KM DISTANCE THRES-
HOLD MOVEMENTS TAKING PLACE ACROSS BORDERS. IN
POLADS DISCUSSION, HOWEVER, FRG REP INDICATED
THAT BONN WOULD BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT ACROSS-BORDER
ELEMENT IF IT CAME AS NNA-PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO ALLIED
FORMULATION (REF F). WITHOUT EXCEPTION FOR ACROSS-
BORDER MOVEMENTS, 200 KM THRESHOLD MAKES MEASURE
QUITE RESTRICTIVE IN NNA EYES. ALREADY IN
DEBATE HERE, ROMANIANS HAVE PROPOSED SHORTENING THE
DISTANCE, AND WE WOULD EXPECT NNAS TO FOLLOW SUIT
AFTER THE RECESS. ON THEIR OWN, NNAS MIGHT NOT THINK
OF EXEMPTING ACROSS-BORDER MOVEMENTS AS ANOTHER AP-
PROACH TO MAKING DISTANCE THRESHOLD LESS RESTRICTIVE.
CBMS CAUCUS ASKED FRG REP TO DETERMINE WHETHER BONN
WOULD OBJECT TO HAVING THIS IDEA PLANTED WITH NNAS,
IF NECESSARY, AT APPROPRIATE TACTICAL MOMENT. IN
SEPARATE DISCUSSION, US AND FRG DELOFFS REVIEWED
ALTERNATIVE APPROACH TO ACROSS-BORDER EXCEPTION DEV-
ELOPED BY NATO INTERNATIONAL STAFF IN OCTOBER BUT NOT
FORMALLY DISCUSSED IN POLADS. THIS WOULD INVOLVE NO
EXPLICIT MENTION OF BORDERS BUT RATHER WOULD RESTRICT
APPLICATION OF THE 200 KM THRESHOLD TO MOVEMENTS TAKING
PLACE "WHOLLY WITHIN THE TERRITORY OF A PARTICIPATING
STATE." FRG DEL WILL SUGGEST THIS FORMULATION WHEN
RAISING WITH BONN THE QUESTION OF PLANTING ACROSS-
BORDER IDEA WITH NNAS.

D. WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE (WDC). CAUCUS
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AGREED THAT ALLIES SHOULD DEVELOP FALLBACK POSITION
FOR INCLUSION OF SOME REFERENCE TO WDC IN CONCLUDING
DOCUMENT. US REP REPORTED VIEWS CONTAINED PARA 4 REF G.
CANADIAN REP STRESSED HIS GOVERNMENT'S VIEW THAT ANY
WDC LANGUAGE SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ONLY AS BARGAINING
MATERIAL TO BE USED WITH SOVIETS IN NEGOTIATION OF CBM
ISSUES.

E. MILITARY SPENDING. CAUCUS AGREED WITH SUG-
GESTION OF US REP THAT THOUGHT SHOULD BE GIVEN TO
WHETHER ACCEPTANCE OF SOME REFERENCE TO IDEA
OF LIMITING MILITARY SPENDING MIGHT BE DESIRABLE TO
DEAL WITH ROMANIAN FREEZE PROPOSAL AND TO ACCOMODATE
POSSIBLE NNA CONCERNS ABOUT ULTIMATE UTILITY OF
STANDARDIZED REPORTING PROPOSED IN US AMENDMENT TO NNA
LANGUAGE ON OPENNESS. (PARAS 1 AND 2 REF D). DRAWING
UPON LAST PARAGRAPH OF REF H (WHICH HE READ TO CAUCUS),
US REP RAISED FOR DISCUSSION IDEA OF REFERENCE TO
REDUCED MILITARY SPENDING AS AN ULTIMATE GOAL, CAVEATED
BY STATEMENT THAT PROGRESS TOWARD AGREEMENT ON ACTUAL
REDUCTIONS WOULD DEPEND UPON THE DEVELOPMENT AND
ACCEPTANCE OF RELIABLE METHODS FOR THE MEASUREMENT AND
REPORTING, COMPARING AND VERIFYING OF EXPENDITURES.

F. POST-BELGRADE WORKING GROUPS OF EXPERTS ON CBMS.
SINCE BEING OF CONFERENCE, NNAS AND ROMANIANS HAVE
BEEN CAUTIOUSLY SOUNDING OUT ALLIED INTEREST IN WORK-
ING GROUP IDEA, STRESSING THAT ANY SUCH GROUP WOULD
HAVE TO HAVE PRECISE MANDATE AND LIMITED LIFE-SPAN.
CAUCUS AGREED THAT NNA PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH SUCH A
GROUP IS INEVITABLE; ONLY QUESTIONS ARE HOW FAR FROM
END OF MEETING IT WILL COME AND WHAT MANDATE
IT WILL RECOMMEND. MOST MEMBERS OF CAUCUS

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AMEMBASSY BONN

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ASSOCIATED THEMSELVES WITH UK REP'S STATEMENT THAT ALLIES SHOULD BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER SUCH A PROPOSAL SERIOUSLY IN LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS AS MEETING PROCEEDS, BUT SHOULD DISCOURAGE NNAS FROM INTRODUCING PROPOSAL PREMATURELY. GREEK REP ARGUED THAT ALLIED FLEXIBILITY ON EXPERTS GROUP WOULD MAKE IT EASIER TO PREVENT DEVELOPMENT OF ANY NNA SUPPORT FOR SOVIET-PROPOSED "SPECIAL JOINT CONSULTATIONS." KEY QUESTIONS FOR DECISION ARE:

-- IS A POST-BELGRADE WORKING GROUP ON CBMS ACCEPTABLE?

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-- IF IT IS, HOW BROAD A MANDATE SHOULD IT HAVE: I.E., "CBMS," OR ONLY SPECIFICALLY DEFINED BM ISSUES (E.G., "PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS" AND "TREATMENT OF OBSERVERS AT MANEUVERS")?

WHILE WE THINK ALLIED DELS SHOULD PLAY CARDS CLOSE TO VEST OF THIS QUESTION UNTIL FINAL STAGES OF CONFERENCE, DEVELOPMENT OF EFFECTIVE TACTICS WILL DEPEND UPON KNOWING IN ADVANCE WHAT LATITUDE WE HAVE.

3. FOR NATO: WE WOULD APPRECIATE ANYTHING MISSION CAN DO TO IMPRESS UPON IMS AND MILITARY COMMITTEE IMPORTANCE OF COMPLETING THEIR STUDIES OF MANEUVER-CEILING PROPOSAL AND NOTIFICATION OF AGGREGATED SMALLER-SCALE MANEUVERS IN TIME FOR DISSEMINATION TO CAPITALS BEFORE JANUARY 12 CBMS EXPERTS MEETING.

4. ABOVE WAS DRAFTED BEFORE RECEIPT OF NATO 12920 AND 12928.
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